Vol. 4. No. 10. 26th June 1919

THE Hindu Message

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

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A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editor: T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

VOL. 4.] THURSDAY JUNE 26, 1919. [No. 10.

The Hindu Message stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

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A Vision Of India.

THULASI.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

Thou bring'st to trustful men the double grace
Of happiness and health on heaven and earth
Thou in the milky ocean hadst thy birth
And as the fruit of penance and of praise
Of God, thou in the fulness of thy days
Became His goddess dowered with bridal mirth
And thy leaves have a higher psychic worth
Than Kalpaka or laurel leaves or bays.
What higher rapture can there ever be
Than thine that liest at His lotus feet
In fragrance lost in fragrance deep divine
That spreads from there like thrills of melody.
Ah dead though dowered with life's joys warm and street
Is he who does not feel thy fragrance fine.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 26, JUNE 1919.

India and Economic Reconstruction—II.

The dominant British Imperialism of our time is represented, as we have already said, by the TIMES-MILNER School whose ideals, as adumbrated ten years ago, in the columns of the *Times*, have been fairly indicated in our last article. The main objective of this Imperialism, so far as the Dependent Empire is concerned, is to develop the resources of these dependent countries "by a positive policy of preference, by bounties, by steamship subsidies, by the vigorous building of railways, by well-equipped agricultural and forestry and mining departments."

If any one fancied that the experiences of the last five years of war may have more or less modified this plan and purpose, he will be disillusioned by a glance at a series of very significant articles on "the Elements of Reconstruction" that appeared in the *Times* in July and August 1916, and that have since been reprinted and published as a small book by Messrs. Nisbet and Co Ltd., with an Introduction by Lord Milner.

The most important part of these essays is that which indicates the lines of coming evolution of trade and industry in the United Kingdom and the Empire. It distinctly proves the impossibility of continuing the old policy of competitive free trade which the conditions of sixty years ago called for. As Lord Milner points out,—"the world has been moving at a tremendous pace, and the industrial and commercial methods and maxims of fifty or sixty years ago have, under the changed conditions, lost much of their virtue.

They were the natural products of the transitional epoch which followed the Industrial Revolution. The mistake which most people then made was in thinking that the principles of Go as you please and the General Scramble, which may have been necessary and even appropriate during the inevitable break-up of the Old Order, could possibly be the permanent foundations of the New. But we all recognise now that there must be a fresh effort of economic and social organisation. We see the formidable beginnings of it already in the growth of mammoth businesses and combines and in the huge federations of Labour. They are a product of the vast scale of modern enterprise resulting from the achievements of science in the development of mechanical power, and they render the position of the small isolated business and of the so-called "free," that is, unassociated labourer constantly more precarious and untenable. The drawback and evils of these great agglomerations are obvious, but they are after all the necessary raw material of the New Order.

And Lord Milner rightly says that this process of agglomeration is going on. There is no way out of it. At the same time this is fraught with grave evils which, unless provided against in time, will work red ruin not only to the industries themselves but to the whole social and political fabric. "From the heart of the business world come," therefore, as Lord Milner says, "the most urgent warnings against excessive unregulated competitions and the loudest appeals for organisation on co-operative lines and for the helping hand of the State."

This is, however, only one side of the question. There is another side to which Lord Milner did not feel called

upon to refer, but with which the Dependencies of the Empire are vitally concerned. The mammoth businesses and combines, to which Lord Milner refers, as "a product of the vast scale of enterprise resulting from the achievements of science in the development of mechanical power," depend upon markets capable of consuming their enormous products, and also upon raw materials which generally speaking are not found in the United Kingdom or even in the self-governing Dominions. The control of these raw materials on the one hand, and of these markets on the other, is, therefore, as much essential for the success of these enterprises as "organisation on co-operative lines" and "the helping hand of the State."

Given adequate opportunities, there is no reason why, for instance, a country like India or Egypt, should not be able to utilise her raw products herself for the production of commodities that may supply her needs or be exported to foreign markets instead of being imported to her own shores from foreign lands that had taken her raw materials to work these into articles of use or luxury. The political and economic consciousness that has helped the progress of modern European peoples has already commenced to quicken in India and Egypt; and they have already commenced to more or less strongly resent the exploitation of their natural resources by foreign capitalist and commercial interests.

The New Order, by which Lord Milner evidently means here the New Economic and Industrial Order, therefore, require the indefinite continuance of the present state of political dependence and helplessness of the "Dependent Empire." Though Lord Milner does not say so, the authors of these Essays on "The ELEMENTS OF RECONSTRUCTION" clearly do it. Their ideal of the Empire is that it must be essentially British, if not by race and history, in any case, at least by the assimilation of a common culture and the acquisition of a common character which will have the British stamp upon it. They say therefore, that

"So far as the Dominions go that are predominantly of British descent, the Dominions that are pleased to be called Britain's beyond the seas, it is quite conceivable that there may be political unifications of a very thorough sort, but so far as the great masses of non-British people go, peoples with alien racial and national traditions, the idea of assimilation is equally unacceptable with the idea of continuing and unending subjection.

Ireland has taught the British the folly of rash and premature experiments in amalgamation, and it is clear that the future of the non-kindred parts of the Empire, such as Egypt or Rajputana or Bengal, lies along line of education and autonomous development to the position of free and equal allies in one great Imperial confederation.

So far as these non-British peoples are concerned it may be questioned whether the setting up of any common Imperial Council to include them is advisable. *So far as they are concerned it may be wiser at present for the trustee to continue to administer.* (These italics are mine.)

Further on the writers say that it is difficult to foretell tha future course of Imperial evolution; and all that must, therefore, be done in the meantime, is for the Imperial Government *"to keep things going;"* and *"in and out of season steadily, persistently, to set up and maintain in the minds of the ruling race and subject race alike this idea of the trustee, the idea of 'when you are ready to take it back, your land is yours.'"*—(The italics are mine.)

This trustee-idea is however, no new thing in the literature of British Imperialism. The time has, however, come, when the utter hollowness of it should be fully shown up to clear the ground of all confusion of thought and language which seriously stand in the way of a helpful understanding of the real problem of the Empire that faces British and Indian and Egyptian statesmanship just now. Without at all questioning the honesty of it, 'it must be pointed out that this trustee-idea is as false in theory as it is hurtful to vital interests of the dependencies, in practice. It is logically untrue, morally unjustifiable, and practically impossible;—owing first, to the presence of undeniable and inevitable conflicts of interests between the trustee and his charge; and second, to the absence of any Power or Authority which, standing over both the trustee and his trust, might remedy any wrong that the former might be tempted to do to the latter. It is quite time that all parties frankly recognised this obvious fact; because this recognition is essential for the discovery and application of some rational and just principle of reconciliation between legitimate British and undoubted Indian interests in the political and economic administration of this country, a reconciliation that alone can be expected to safeguard and perpetuate India's Imperial connection upon which hangs the future, both of India and the Empire.

Be that, however, as it may; the important thing to us here in this statement of Imperial policy is the light which it throws on the problem of economic Imperial reconstruction. In plain English it means that while we must patiently wait for the attainment of political autonomy, and train ourselves for it "step by step" the process of economic exploitation must go on with increased velocity, "developing" our natural resources and giving employment to our cheap and teeming labouring population thereby.

Of course, this exploitation is no new thing in India. This has been the permanent motive, one might even say, the regulative idea, of the evolution of British Administration in this country. The British Empire in India was founded not by great world-conquerors like Alexander or the Cæsers or the Pathan or Mogul invaders of India, but it was really found (not founded) by a body of traders who came to exploit the fabulous wealth of Ind. And even after the sceptre of Mogul fell into their hands, the agents and servants of the East India Company paid far more attention to their trade than to the affairs of the people committed to their charge.

Whatever the Minto Professor of the Calcutta University might essay to prove, it is too well-established a fact to be controverted at this late hour, that India produced large quantities of fine silk and cotton fabrics which found highly profitable markets in Europe. And this was only at the beginning of the last Christian century. As Horace Hayman Wilson points out in his edition of Mill's History of India:

> It was stated in evidence in 1813 that the cotton and silk goods of India, up to the period, could be sold for a profit in the British market at a price from 50 to 60 per cent lower than those fabricated in England.
>
> It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of 70 to 80 per cent on their value or by positive prohibition.
>
> Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and Manchester would

have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have again been set in motion even by power of steam.

They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture."

Sir Sankaran Nair in his Minute of Dissent on the Government of India's Despatch on the Reforms dated March 5, 1919, reminds us of this "deliberate policy of active discouragement in India and prohibitive duties in England" which has reduced India from an agricultural and manufacturing country to a purely agricultural one; and says that—

The general policy of the subordination of Indian to English commercial interests has continued to the present day. India has been utilised for the exploitation of her natural resources, for the investment of English capital, and for the dumping of English goods.

The official plea that English capital and English trade and commerce have not "exploited" but simply helped to develop the material resources of India and have thereby increased its wealth, instead of depleting it will not hold water for a single moment.

The undeveloped resources of a country when developed by native brains, native capital, native enterprise and native labour, undoubtedly add to the wealth of the people and help to increase their economic staying-power. This increase of wealth comes through the profits of these enterprises which remain in the country forming new centres of national capital.

In the case of "development" by foreign capital all the profits of these enterprises go out of the country; what remain with the people are wages of local labour and the small profit of the middlemen who work for the exploiters. But the proportion of profits of these foreign enterprises compared to what goes out of it is contemptible. And even this is largely eaten up by the increased cost of living due to causes to which this very foreign exploitation makes the largest contribution. In the case of India, a very large proportion of the wages of labour in foreign enterprises goes out of the country in the shape of the value and freight of foreign articles that have practically pushed similar articles of our own production from our home markets.

The absence of fluid capital and Industrial enterprise in the country stood and still stands in the way of the adequate development of our immense natural resources, it is true. Foreign capital was and is even today very largely needed for the development of India's material resources. This need cannot, and indeed need not, be denied or ignored. But the question, is,—how would a national government meet this necessity? Would it invite foreign capitalists to come and engage themselves in unrestricted exploitation of the economic possibilities of the country? Or would it not simply either directly borrow or encourage the borrowing by private national concerns if necessary on the guarantee of the national credit, whatever money was required from foreign markets. The British Government in India could have easily adopted this policy. It could have easily offered the credit of the State, if need be guaranteed by the Government of the United Kingdom as trustee of the Indian people,—to indigenous concerns and thus help them to put their shares even with a minimum dividend guaranteed by it upon the British market and other foreign markets; and thus induce foreign capital to come to this country. And although part of the profits of

these enterprises would go out of the country, the working expenses would go to the pockets of the people and be spent entirely in the country. And what is far more important, the training and experience which the management of these businesses would give to the people would be an intellectual and moral asset of the nation of almost incalculable value, which would encourage indigenous capital to have confidence in national business enterprises and thus gradually help the economic freedom and self-sufficiency of the nation. This policy was, I think, largely followed by Japan, in working out her industrial regeneration.

And, above all else, a national government even if it did encourage the flow of foreign capital for the development of the agricultural and mineral resources of the country would strictly preserve the sovereign rights of the people to their own land and to every thing which it held in its bosom, by an absolute prohibition of the acquisition of any right on these by any foreigners. Where private ownership of land was recognised or conceded, the right of transferring it to foreigners might well and legitimately be taken away from these private owners by positive legislation. Even where temporary leases to foreigners might be permitted, the conditions of such lease might be determined by law with a view to prevent hurtful exploitation. Lastly, where foreign capitalists employed native labour upon any large scale a national government would certainly safeguard national interests by special fiscal and factory legislation, specially devised to preserve to the labour and to the state a reasonable share of the profits of these enterprises and to provide adequately for the physical health and intellectual education of the labour population.

These are the test questions by which we must decide whether British capitalist exploitation can reasonably claim to have helped the real economic development of this country.

BIPIN CHANDRA PAL.

The need for religious education in India. *

[BY K. S. RAMASWAMY SASTRI, B.A., B.L.]

The importance of the subject of religious education in schools cannot be better expressed than by quoting Lord Minto's reply to the all-India Hindu deputations on 10th March 1908: "I fully agree with you that it is from religious foundations that the national character of a people derives its strength and its power of further development. You seek to deepen and to nourish the springs of religious life and your object is a noble one." Our Christian and Mahomedan brethren have already solved the problem in a large measure and it is only the Hindus— I mean we modern Hindus— that hesitate, and hesitate, and hesitate and talk and talk and talk and do nothing else in such an important matter.

Religion is the name given to the response vouchsafed to man's humble and earnest and reverent interrogation about the deepest and eternal element of his being. If man is not mere body or the senses or the mind, if there is in him a principle called the soul which uses the body and the senses and the mind as the owner of a chariot uses the chariot, the horses, and the charioteer, then we cannot allow the horses and the charioteer to take us where they will but must determine what is the goal of existence and what is the means of attaining the goal. Each great religion tells man what is the immortal principle in him, what are the real means

* A speech made at the recent Provincial Educational conference in support of a Resolution on the subject.

of its auspicious self-realisation, and what is the final and blissful goal of life. Hence religion can never be mere belief; it is a settled conviction blossoming into the attainment of a self-dedicated life of service and renunciation and a life of perfect purity in thought, word, and deed and attaining the heavenly fruit of the ineffable bliss of God-love and God-realisation. In the Hindu religion, especially, we are taught to practise daily physical and mental discipline, to discharge our duties in social life in a spirit of detachment and dispassion and as a love-offering at the lotus feet of God, and to rise on the wings of love and wisdom to the Throne of Grace. A great passage in the Upanishads says that if we so live our life that we are able to attain God-vision, great is our gain as their is nothing higher or sweeter in life, and that if we die without that bliss being realised great is our loss. Again, we have all realised the value of direct and indirect moral education. I am not here talking about the foundations of morality but I wish to impress upon you that it has been accepted by the best thought that if there is no Eternal Lawgiver there can be no Eternal Law and that Law is not an end into itself but must lead to Light and Love and Bliss.

"The wages of sin is death, if the wages of virtue be dust
Would she have the heart to endure for the life of the worm and the fly?"

Modern life is substituting quantity for quality, movement for progress, self-assertion for self-control. The great leaders of western thought pray for India's religious idealism to correct the barren though gaudy trivialities of modern meterialism. Shall we alone be lost in the wandering mazes of empty discussion and lose our lives in the vain seeking of the minor things of life?

Therefore I ask you, are you entitled to starve the souls of our youths while feeding their bodies and senses and mind? Even as regards these the body is neglected, the senses have not been given free play in the realm of art, and the mind is not trained in a synthetic way. We forget that the boys have souls and when their souls cry out in mute pleading for the bread of life we give them the stones of words, words, words. What do we say about men who neglect the foundations and build the upper storeys of a house? Do we accept their wisdom? I shall not point the moral.

We are unable to realise the supreme and all-pervading value of religion as we were not trained early *to live it and love it*. There is no royal road to religion any more than there is a royal road to the smaller peaks of life. We are committing slow suicide by neglecting religion. Shall we add the murder of the souls of our boys to our many accomplishments in life?

If the great War has demonstrated anything to the world distracted by ignorance and desire, it has shown that religion should become an animating principle of action in life. Religion is not only a subject or a method but is an entire transfiguration of being and a perpetual bliss. You may have it or reject it as you like. If you shut your eyes to the sun and walk with blindfolded eyes the sun will not cease to shine. I only plead that you should not put out the eyes of others.

I shall dispose of the difficulties urged by some people in regard to the matter of religious eduction. The difficulty of framing syllabuses and writing books embodying the common phases of Hinduism need not appal us. The difficulty is more imaginary than real. It is the Giant Despair of the modern educated man in India. Even if the difficulty is real, we must conquer it. Do we shrink from other duties of national reform because they are difficult, nor is there difficulty about the supply of teachers. Do not our teachers attend courses of lectures on various subjects? Can they not attend lectures arranged by the community for fitting them for training their pupils in religion? We pay for all sorts of things—good, bad, and indifferent. Can we not pay for this? There is a college of divinity in northern India. A similar college can be started here. It is said by some that the public revenues should not be utilised for imparting denominational re-

ligious instruction. The revenues ought to be used for all purposes of public welfare. Some say that religious instruction should be given in the home. But the modern parent has delegated his educative functions to the teacher and I fail to see how the delegate can shove back the duty to the parent. The teachers should make the future homes of the nation happy and righteous. They must not leave to the homes the duty of religious education while they have to fashion the homes aright by religious education.

This resolution may or may not be accepted by you but it will be pressed on you till contempt is turned into toleration, toleration into respect, respect into reverence and reverence into the bliss of eternal love. The Lord has said in the *Gita* अध्यात्मविद्या विद्यानां (I am religion among the Vidyas or the sciences.) What is the good of education if in the sky of the mind religion does not shine in glory attended by the sciences like the full moon attended by the stars?

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures now being delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA III.

ज्यायसी चेत्कर्मणस्ते मता बुद्धिर्जनार्दन ।
तत्किं कर्मणि घोरे मां नियोजयसि केशव ॥
व्यामिश्रेणेव वाक्येन बुद्धिं मोहयसीव मे ।
तदेकं वद निश्चित्य येन श्रेयोऽहमाप्नुयाम् ॥

If, O Janardana, Buddhi (Jnana or wisdom) is regarded by thee as superior to karma (action) why, O Kesava, dost thou order me to do this cruel work. With speech which seems to be confused and perplexing you seem to bewilder my mind. Therefore tell me with certainty that one thing, by which I can reach the highest good.

NOTES:

1. The Lord had closed Chapter II with the praise of the Brahmisthiti which is the consummation of the Sankhyayoga. In the earlier portions of Chapter II He had praised the Karmayoga also. Arjuna wants to have a clear idea of the interconnection and graduatedness of these two holy and auspicious paths.

2. The Gita is a *Samvada* wherein by means of a dialogue truth is brought home to the hearer's mind. It is a more natural and effective method than mere exposition or dialectics.

3. Sri Sankaracharya shows that the opening portion of this Chapter shows the diverseness of Jnana and Karma and the certainty of Jnana being the sole means of self-realisation. If Jnana and Karma are equally necessary, would Arjuna, who is a pure and qualified disciple, regard them as separate and disconnected? Would the Lord reply in the same strain treating them so? Moksha is not a result of action. It a realisation. मोक्षस्य चाकार्यत्वान्मुमुक्षोः कर्मानर्थक्यम् । The mere non-doing which is a negative thing cannot produce a positive result. Sastra is ज्ञापक (a reminding agency) and not कारक (an agency enjoining action). Hence Karma and Jnana have reference to workers on two different planes (भिन्नपुरुषानुष्ठेय)

4. The steps in the golden ladder of self-realisation are thus beautifully described by Sri Madhusoodana एवं तावत्प्रथमेनाध्यायेन उपोद्घातितो द्वितीयेनाध्यायेन कृत्स्नः शास्त्रार्थः सूत्रितः । तथा हि आदौ निष्कामकर्मनिष्ठा ततोऽन्तःकरणशुद्धिः ततः शमदमादिसाधनपुरःसरः सर्वकर्मसन्यासः ततो वेदान्तवाक्यविचारसहिता भगवद्भक्तिनिष्ठा ततस्तत्त्वज्ञाननिष्ठा तस्याः फलं च त्रिगुणात्मकाविद्यानिवृत्त्या जीवन्मुक्तिः प्रारब्धकर्मफलभोगपर्यन्तं तदन्ते च विदेहमुक्तिः । जीवन्मुक्तिदशायां च परमपुरुषार्थावलम्बनेन परवैराग्यप्राप्तिः दैवसंपदाख्या च शुभवासना तदुपकारिण्युपादेया । आसुरसंपदाख्या तु अशुभवासना तद्विरोधिनी हेया । दैवसंपदोऽसाधारणं कारणं सात्त्विकी श्रद्धा आसुरसंपदस्तु राजसी तामसी चेति हेयोपादेयविभागेन कृत्स्नशास्त्रार्थपरिसमाप्तिः ।

5. Thus Madhusoodana points out that the

entire Sastra is stated in nutshell in a Chapter II. Nishkama Karma is dealt with in detail in Chapter III and IV. In Chapters V and VI Sarva Karma Sanyasa due to the pure mind perfected by *Sama*, *Dama*, etc. Thus in Chapters 1 to VI the त्वं-पदार्थ (the soul) is clearly described to us तत्पदार्थ (God) is described to us. तत्पदार्थ God is described in Chapter VII to XII. In Chapter XIII the identity of तत् and त्वं (God and soul) is shown. In Chapter XIV we are taught त्रैगुण्यनिवृत्तिः In Chapter XV Davi Sampath which is the supreme guide of परवैराग्य is shown. In Chapters XVI and XVII The Satviki Sraddha leading to दैवी संपत् and its opposite are described. Thus in Chapters XIII to XVII we are taught सफला ज्ञाननिष्ठा: In Chapter XVIII we have the उपसंहार the conclusion and summation of the teachings of the Gita.

6. Sri Ramanuja says that the knowledge of the soul is a means to Bhakti and that Chapters II to VI describe the realisation of the soul as a means to Bhakti.

7. Professor Rangachariar's interpretation of *Budhi* as the disposition of the mind is quite against the trend of the teachings in Chapter II. Arjuna regards the choice as a choice between *Karma marga* and *Jnana marga* and not as one between action and notice.

8. Sri Madhwacharya says that the action regarded as lower than Jnana is only mercenary action (काम्यकर्म) The discussions bearing on this in Mr. Padmanabhacharyar's book on the Gita show more subtility than truth All are agreed that liberation is through wisdom and that Karma is a means to wisdom. Hence Karma without love of fruit is higher than Karma with love of fruit but is lower than wisdom, because each higher plane is necessarily above each lower plane.

9. Professor Rangachariar's translation of (निश्चित्य) or "after ascertaining well" does not seem to be quite correct as it would imply a doubt in Arjuna's mind about Sri Krishna's knowing the truth well.

श्री भगवानुवाच—

लोकेऽस्मिन्द्विविधा निष्ठा पुरा प्रोक्ता मयानघ ।
ज्ञानयोगेन सांख्यानां कर्मयोगेन योगिनाम् ॥

The Blessed Lord said.

In the beginning (of creation), O sinless one, the two fold path was taught by me in this world—the path of wisdom for the Sanknyas and the part of Karma Yoga for the Yogins.

NOTES :

1. The Lord here shows the distinction of path (मार्ग) according to the distinction of Adhikari. Sri Venkatanatha says in his Brahmanandagiri: जन्मान्तरसुकृतवशात्स्वतः शुद्धान्तःकरणस्य साक्षाज्ज्ञान एव स्थितिः । अतथाभूतस्य तु चित्तशुद्धिपर्यन्तं ज्ञानागे कर्मणिस्थितिरिति ।

2. Sri Madhwacharya instances Sanaka and Janaka as instances of the ज्ञानयोगि and the कर्मयोगि respectively. द्विविधा अपि जनाः सन्ति । गृहस्थादि कर्म त्यागेन ज्ञान निष्ठाः सनकादिवत् । तत्स्था एव ज्ञाननिष्ठाश्च जनकादिवत् । मद्धर्मस्य एवं-त्वर्थः

3. There is no inconsistency in these views. A person becomes fit for ज्ञान only through Karma. Among those full of Jnana, some are like Sanaka and some like Janaka.

4. Sri Ramanujacharya says well; न हि सर्वो लौकिकः पुरुषः संजातमोक्षाभिलाषः तदानीमेव ज्ञानयोगाधिकारे प्रभवति । अपि त्वनभिसंहित फलेन केवलपरमपुरुषाराधनवेषेणानुष्ठितेन कर्मणा विध्वस्तस्वान्तमलोऽव्याकुलेन्द्रियो ज्ञाननिष्ठायामधिकरोति ।

5. The absolute need for purification through Karma is thus strongly laid down in the following verses:

अनाध्यधीखिलान्वेदानिष्ट्वाखिलासुरान् ।
अनुत्पाद्यसुतान्विप्रोनसन्यसितुमर्हति ॥

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R Krishnaswami Sastri

अकुर्वन्विहितं कर्मनिन्दितं च समाचरन् ।
प्रचरन्निन्द्रियार्थेषु नरः पतनमृच्छति ॥

It is said further:

परं ब्रह्म परिज्ञाय प्रव्रजेद्ब्राह्मणोत्तमः ।
अन्यथा कर्मकुर्वीत नप्रमाद्येत कर्हिचित् ॥
स्वे स्वेऽधिकारे या निष्ठा सगुणःपरिकीर्तितः ।
विपरीतस्तु दोषः स्यादुभयोरेष निश्चयः ॥

(To be continued.)

Notes and Comments.

The NATION writes:—

An important speech by Mr. Montagu, introducing the Indian budget last week, has been followed by the issue of documents on the Reform Scheme and the introduction of the Bill. The despatches show that official opinion in India is strongly against the diarchy, the division of powers between the provincial governments, which are to be responsible to the new electorates and the supreme Government, which is to remain substantially unchanged. In his Budget speech Mr. Montagu made an elaborate defence of the Rowlatt Coercion Act, the universal unpopularity of which he admitted. His argument was that the Government of India must have special powers of summary punishment in reserve, though it may never use them. Presumably Mr. Montagu estimates that the concesion of such powers to the bureaucracy will tend to the maintenance of order and to the diminution of Anglo-Indian hostility to any large scheme of reform. In the plainest terms Mr. Montagu announces that the cabinet stands by the immediate grant of responsible self-government to India; but it has to be said that the outlook for this year is not encouraging. The Bill is to be referred to a joint select committee of both Houses, and the Committee's procedure will include the hearing of outside witnesses, official and non-official British and Indian. That means delay.

*
* *

The HINDU writes:—

No time ought to be lost in bringing the case of Mr. Kalinath Roy to the notice of the higher authorities, legal and executive. Madras has done its duty by protesting against the injustice perpetrated by a Martial law tribunal, and has started a fund to which we trust there will be prompt and generous response. The deputations now in England should be immediately informed of the full facts of this case and of other measures taken in various parts in India in respect of the Indian Press. The Reforms, the British public should be told, will not be worth anything if even after their enactment into law, such violent and high-handed measures of repression affecting individual liberty and the freedom of the Press, could be put into force at the sweet will of the executive.

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The London Correspondent of "Mahratta" writes under date May 29: The Deputation at last arrived here on the 25th instant. The Members were received at the station by some Indian gentlemen on behalf of the London Indian Association here. Dewan Madhava Rao and Mr. Satyamurti are accommodated in a separate flat near Mr. Tilak's house, while the Hon. Patel and Mr. Kelkar are living with him. Dewan Madhava Rao's address is 40 Castlellian Mansions, Castlellian Road, Maida: Vale, W. 9. Mr. Khaparde is expected here Sunday week, that is on the 8th June. When he arrives, the work will be begun vigorously. At present Mr. Patel and Mr. Kelkar are engaged in preliminary negotiations with the British Congress Committee, and in surveying the situation. Mr. Montagu's Bill will be introduced in the House of Commons very shortly. The Deputation may therefore be said to have arrived just in time for actual work.

The Philosophy of Education.

[By M. S. NATESAN.]

(continued.)

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH: Till very recently, English, as such, was not studied. I remember the words of Lord Jesus in this connection; "places unfit for the stabling of a good horse are made the habitations of man." Similarly, books of all kinds, good, bad and indifferent, irrespective of their

suitability or otherwise, are adopted as text-books.

The aim of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck in opening schools in India was the creation of a class of people who would expound the wishes of the Government to the people, who would stand midway between the Government and the people and would at the same time tread upon the necks of those who are below. Lord Curzon seeing that the ideals of William Bentinck were not being realised, seeing that the educated classes instead of expounding the orders of the Government to the people began to represent to the Government the grievances of the people, dealt a death-blow at higher education. The new system of 'Direct Method' or as I would put it the specialised 'over-directness of the direct method' is dealing blows at thought-getting; and there are even men who want Indian children to confuse even the alphabet by introducing a second script and teaching two scripts simultaneously to them even in their earliest ages!!

THE TEACHING OF COMPOSITION: The introduction of oral composition, which quickens the pace of the composing powers of the pupil, connects composition with history and literature. But abstract subjects should not be taken up. Unity and oneness in design with due subordination in detail are still far from being the teacher's central pre-occupation. The pupil's work is very often an oscillation between a shapeless conglomeration of facts and a mixture of undigested rhetoric. In every composition writing, the making of a regular skeleton or plan with its various bifurcations should be insisted upon. Literary precis of great authors of antiquity is more advantageous than a system of unsatisfactory paraphrase, because the former gives time to pupils to think; then and then alone would children learn to analyse and classify their own thoughts and put them in proper logical order. But the plan or the skeleton itself is not the be-all and end-all of composition. Taste, imagination, and feeling are necessary to clothe and animate the skeleton; and clarity of expression can only rise from clearness of thought. In a word, the pupil must see, as a French author puts it, "*the colour of the images*" and must feel "*the music of the sentences.*" *Literary contour and relief are a writer's best defence against boring his readers.*

And in the near future a stupendous change in the teaching of English in Indian schools may be looked forward to.

THE TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS AND SCIENCE: Every one of my readers will remember how little of science and mathematics is being taught to Indian children. Herbert Spencer in his essay on "What knowledge is of most worth" waxes eloquently hot on the supreme importance and utilitarian value of the knowledge of science. But one redeeming feature is that the matter and the manner of the teaching of these subjects are slowly improving. The average mathematical and scientific, and therefore strictly accurate, knowledge of the average schoolboy of to-day is a thousand times higher than what it was a few years ago. But one must be careful not to stop with that. The world is growing; humanity is progressing and the cultivation of knowledge must also progress. There should be no stopping still; otherwise the nation will die. The standard of efficiency should be constantly rising higher and higher.

THE TEACHING OF GEOGRAPHY: Wherever one turns, he sees that there is a want of recognised general principles on which Geography is to be taught. A time there was when maps, pictures, photographs, stereos and the magic lantern were regarded as too childish to be used for serious educational or scientific purposes. Out-door work was undreamed of. Only recently has the subject evolved from the place-name system to contour-colour system. But if the study of Geography should really prove useful, two books upon the subject must be consulted—L'Estrange's Comparative Geography and B. Narayanaswami Aiyar's Practical Lessons in Geography. The various heads under which Geography should be taught are 1. the principles of Geography, 2. survey of the natural regions of the globe, 3. land forms and the merphology of the continents, 4. meteorology, climatalogy and oceanography, and 5. Geographical methods and notations. Above all, accounts of travel should be presented to children; the lives of Samudra Gupta, Yuan Chung, Darwin, Johnston, Cook; Marco Pole, and a host of others both Indian and foreign—the teacher should be acquainted with. These are the real

developers of the science of Geography. Side by side should also be cultivated a system of historial Geography—subjects like the growth and decay of Latin or Buddhistic civilisation, disposition of Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Danish towns with Geographical reasons, political and economical opposition of the East with the West from the very ancient times to the present day ought to form portions of higher Geographical studies.

The Teaching of History: And this brings me on to the teaching of history. While that kind of information which in schools usurps the name of history—the more tissue of names and dates and dead unmeaning events has a conventional and a marketable value only and that before a board of examiners, it has not the remotest bearing on human actions.

History is not the chronological synopsis of events. The teaching of the latter is quite easy, but quite valueless. "The information commonly given under the head of history in our schools is quite useless for purposes of guidance. Scarcely any of the facts set down in our school histories illustrates the right principles of political action. The biographies of monarches, and our children learn little else, throw scarcely any light upon the science of society. Familiarity with court intrigues, plots, usurpations or the like, and with all the personalities accompanying them, aids very little in elucidating the causes of national progress. We read of some squabble for power; that it led to a pitched battle; that such and such were the names of the generals and their leading subordinates; that they had each so many thousand infantry and cavalry and so many cannon; that they arranged their forces in this and that order; that they manoevred, attacked and fell back in certain ways; that at this part of the day such disasters were sustained, and at that such advantages gained; that in one particular movement some leading officer fell, while in another a certain regiment was decimated; that after all the changing fortunes of the fight, the victory was gained by this or that army; and that so many were killed and wounded on each side, and so many captured by the conquerers. And now, out of the accumulated details making up the narrative, say which it is that helps you in deciding on your conduct as a citizen. Supposing even that you diligently read, not only the "fifteen decisive battles of the world," but accounts of all other battles that history mentions; how much more judicious would your vote be at the next election? But these are facts—interesting facts you say. Without doubt they are facts; and to many they may be interesting facts. But this by no means implies that they are valuable. Factitious or morbid opinion often gives seeming value to things that have scarcely any. A tulipomaniac will not part with a choice bulb for its weight in gold. To another man an ugly piece of cracked old china seems his most desirable possession. And there are those who give high prices for relics of celebrated murderers. Will it be contended that these tastes are any measure of value in the things that gratify them? If not, then it must be admitted that the liking felt for certain classes of historical facts is no proof of their worth; and that we must test their worth, as we test the worth of other facts, by asking to what uses they are applicable. Were some one to tell you that your neighbour's cat kittened yesterday, you would say the information was valueless. Fact though it may be, you would call it an utterly useless fact—a fact that could in no way influence your actions in life—a fact that would not help you in learning how to live completely. Well, apply the same test to the great mass of historical facts, and you will get the same result. They are facts from which no conclusions can be drawn—unorganisable facts; and therefore facts of no service in establishing principles of conduct, which is the chief use of facts. Read them if you like, for amusement; but do not flatter yourself that they are instructive.

"That which constitutes History, properly so called, is in great part omitted from works on the subject. Only of late years have Historians commenced giving us, in any considerable quantity, the truly valuable information. As in past ages the king was everything and the people nothing, so in past histories the doings of the king fill the entire picture, to which the national life forms an obscure background. While only now, when the welfare of nations rather than the rulers is becoming the dominant idea, are Historians beginning to occupy themselves with the phenomena of social progress. The thing it really concerns us to know is the natural

history of society. We want all facts which help us to understand how a nation has grown and organised itself. Among these, let us of course have an account of its government; with as little as may be of gossip about the men who officered it, and as much as possible about the structure, principles, methods, prejudices, corruptions, etc., which it exhibited; and let this account include not only the nature and actions of the central government, but also those of local governments, down to their minutest ramifications. Let us of course also have a parallel description of the eccleciastical government—its organisation, its conduct, its power, its relations to the state; and accompanying this, the ceremonial, creed, and religious ideas—not only these nominally believed, but these really believed and acted upon. Let us at the same time be informed of the control exercised by class over class, as displayed in social observances—in titles, salutations and forms of address. Let us know too what were all the other customs which regulated the popular life out of doors and indoors including those concerning the relations of the sexes, and the relation of parents to children. The superstitions also from the more important myths down to the charms in common use should be indicated. Next should come a delineation of the industrial system; showing to what extent the division of labour was carried, how trades were regulated, whether by caste, guilds or otherwise; what was the connection between employers and employed; what were the agencies for distributing commodities; what were the means of communication; what was the circulating medium. Accompanying all which should be given an account of the industrial arts technically considered: stating the processes in use, and the quality of the products. Further the intellectual condition of the nation in its various grades should be depicted; not only with respect to the kind and amount of education, but with respect to the progress made in science, and the prevailing manner of thinking. The degree of æsthetic culture, as displayed in architecture, sculpture, painting, dress, music, poetry and fiction should be described. Nor should there be omitted a sketch of the daily lives of the people—their feed, their homes and their amusements. And lastly, to connect the whole, should be exhibited the morals, theoretical and practical, of all classes: as indicated in their laws, habits, proverbs deeds. (Such a complete history is the Mahabharata—foot note.) These facts, given with as much brevity as consists with clearness and accuracy, should be so grouped and arranged that they may be comprehended in their ensemble. and contemplated as mutually dependent parts of one great whole. The aim should be so to present them that men may readily trace the consensus subsisting among them; with the view of learning what social phenomena co-exist with what others. And then the corresponding delineations of succeeding ages should be so managed as to show how each belief, institution, custom and arrangement was modified; and how the consensus of proceeding structures and functions was developed into the consensus of succeeding ones. Such alone is the kind of information respecting past times, which can be of service to the citizen for the regulation of his conduct. The only history that is of practical value, is what may be called descriptive sociology. And the highest office which the historian can discharge is that of so narrating the lives of nations as to furnish materials for a comparative sociology; and for the subsequent determination of the ultimate laws to which social phenomena conform."—thus writes Herbert Spencer.

Facts are merely the tools in the hands of the intelligent historian. He has to and he should teach the supreme value of accuracy and permanently impress the same on children's minds; Children should not be made to sit in judgment of great historical characters and sum up their verdict in a well-chosen word or a few well-chosen words of approval or condemnation. Let me explain myself. Take the life of Sivaji. Sivaji, the disciple of Ramadas, by his preachings and exhortations did invaluable service in rousing the Mahratta minds from a state of religious torper and in directing them to an enthusiastic observance of the Hindu religion. Once it happened that Sivaji was attacked by the Mahamadans who surrounded his capital and the great Maharaja found it impossible to carry out a certain vow. Sivaji seeing that the enemy was very strong and that all advised him not to go out in risk of his life, vowed in despair to do nothing, not even attack his enemies, till Ramadas was seen and consulted. And the story goes on how

Ramadas suddenly appeared before him and blessed him, how Sivaji was thenceforward placed under the special care of Mother Bhavani.

(*To be continued.*)

Europe out-of-work.

The text-books of Political Demonology tell of two powerful spirits—Supply and Demand—whose word the labor-power of man is supposed to obey. The spirit of Demand sets going all the powerful operations of industry and commerce, and the spirit of Supply hastens to goad the sons of toil to the fulfilment of his bidding. The happiness of man consists in an equipoise and constant co-operation of these two powerful demons, and the markets of the world are troubled if their balance is broken or their co-operation disturbed. The demon of Demand has a Christain name—he is Economic Demand, not to be confused with his less powerful, though good-natured, brother, Human Demand, with whom he is often in violent disagreement.

The two are in conflict to day. Five years of war conditions have stripped the world of material commodities, both in the form of articles for consumption and in the form of machinery needed for the restoration of productive power. The human demand for goods is vaster than it has ever been. Belgium is crying out for food, for raw materials, and for machinery; Roumania must have harvest machinery if she is to garner her crops; Russia is starving for want of mechanical appliances of every kind: there is not a country in Europe that does not require substantial re-equipment. Yet the demons of Supply and of Economic Demand remain resolutely hidden. Their co-operation has been broken by war conditions, and none seems to know how to restore it. The mechanism of international exchange has been dislocated: the commercial relations and the distribution of purchasing power among the nations have been rudely disturbed; and there seems to be no statesman brave enough to set things right.

A result of this situation is the pan-European phenomenon of unemployment. The need for work has never been so great; the opportunity for it seldom so small. Men are unemployed almost because there is such need for their employment, for the immense destruction of property and of the products of industry have made their replacement more difficult by upsetting all the old economic relations. Unemployment is an international, even more than a national, phenomenon, and it can be dealt with on the scale required only by an international policy.

Our lot in this country is far better than that of most of our Continental neighbors, both because we were richer before the war, and because the war has never disturbed our economic system as profoundly as it has disturbed those of the Continent. Yet, even here, we have well over a milion workers unemployed, and, having no policy for dealing with the situation, we are spending many millions of money in doles which do nothing to make it better, though they relieve the position of the unemployed, and somtimes add to their number by offering a preferable alternative to work under the conditions offered. It is true that a large proportion of our unemployed are women; but we have heard so much of the vast unexploited source of labour-power which women present that we cannot be much comforted by the reflection that no use is being made of it, and that it is, in fact, at the moment a serious burden on the National Exchequer. Even the building industry, despite the huge demand for housing accommodation, contributes its quota of 60,000 men to the number of the unemployed, though here, at least, is an industry which we might expect to be comparatively, unaffected by the general depression.

The plain fact is that unemployment will continue until nations and individuals know where they stand, and until there has been a real attempt to deal with the international financial situation. It is easy to place huge burdens on a beaten enemy, and to expect by that means to escape from the financial *impasse*. But a German indemnity will not really forward matters by an inch; for Germany with her financial problem is in the same boat with the rest of us. The only way of securing the restoration of normal economic demands is by a heroic policy of mutual forgiveness of debts, and, failing that, the only way of getting even of a partial restoration is by a real internationalization of credit. The creditor countries must either say to the debtor countries: "We wipe

off our loans to you as bad debts: let us start again." Or, if they will not do that, they must at least say: "Let us behave for the next few years as if you did not owe us anything. Then, when we have got things going once more, we can begin to talk about debts."

These considerations, no doubt, affect primarily the United States and, to a certain extent, Japan; but they also affect this country to a considerable degree. It is to our immediate interests to get industry everywhere re-started, even to the extent to helping our competitors on to their legs! for it often happens that a nation's strongest trade competitors are also its best customers. At present the uncertainty of world markets, far more than any uncertainty in the internal position, is holding back capitalists and financiers from launching out into new enterprises and from re-fitting their works to suit future conditions. They are holding on, making in many cases large profits on a small output, restricting production in fact, until they can be certain of the commercial future.

Such restriction may pay the individual; but it does not, and cannot, pay the nation. It means widespread unemployment, lack of purchasing power at home, or where nominal purchasing power is artificially maintained, inflation and the continuance of high prices. It involves us in a suicidal policy of continued borrowing, and makes us still employ our borrowings, not for capital development or for the restoration of confidence, but for unproductive immediate consumption. The out-of-work donation is absolutly necessary, but future generations, if they remember it at all, will regard it as the final futility of the bureaucratic State in industry. We could have saved needless expenditure if, instead of endlessly appointing a new unemployment committee to report on the findings of its predecessor, we had, before the war ended, brought into being a reasonable scheme of unemployment provision administered as far as possible through the trade unions; for these, having their own funds to safeguard, have every inducement to administer benefits in a sensible manner. But, however good and judiciously adminstered a scheme of unemployment maintenance may be, it cannot touch the heart of the problem, which lies in the provision of work and the prevention of unemployment.

It is more than an arguable proposition that if, the day after the Armistice, we had set every available man and woman to work at making the things which our Continental Allies and other foreign countries require, without taking thought at all of their ability to pay or of the commerical conditions, the action would have been handsomely profitable to us in the long run, even in the purely commercial sense. For, instead of a bankrupt Europe, which threatens to involve us in its own economic dislocation, we should have had the prospect of an early restoration of other countries to a condition of economic prosperity which would have profited us no less than it would have helped them. Instead, we have starved even Belgium of necessary commodities, or put her off with promises, while we are still maintaining an idiotic blockade of Russia and the Central Empires, with the apparent object of making the world safe for European Bolshevism.

There is, of course, a just conceivable alternative to the policy of international restoration, the key to which is the internationalization of credit facilities. We might just conceivably wash our hands of Europe, and set out to become a self-sufficing nation or Empire. We might "scrap" our export trade, concentrate our shipping on Imperial routes, tell Europe to go to Bolshevism, and abandon once and for all the ideal of the League of Nations. But not one of us has the smallest intention of going through with any such policy. We intend to re-enter the world market, because we are quite convinced that self-sufficiency, even if it were practicable, would not pay. But we are flatly refusing to accept the implications of our position in the world market. We are tinkering with Imperial Preference, talking a great deal—and doing very little—about the development of Empire resources, and ignoring the fact that we are plunging after the other nations of Europe into a financial abyss. The persons who rule over us have perhaps economic sagacity enough to add two and two and make four; but any more complex economic proposition is usually too much for them.

For example, they are, to judge from their public utterances, almost entirely ignorant of the fact that unemployment at home is

due to international conditions. They talk endlessly about the need for "restoring confidence in private enterprise"; they explain that, if only Capital and Labour would agree, or if only Labor would stop restricting output, there at once would be work for all. Does no echo reach them of the voices of blind statesmen saying the same things all the world over? And can they not understand that, although a wise economic policy might do much to lighten the burden at home, the real key to the problem of unemployment is in the hands of the world-politicians? Two things are necessary as a minimum to any substantial restoration of economic conditions—first, the redistribution of financial facilities according to need, without any reference to immediate ability to pay; and secondly, the restoration without delay of free intercourse among all nations—in fact, the raising of the blockade against Central Europe and Russia. These two measures would do far more than any internal arrangements to prevent unemployment, and so make superfluous the continuance of huge expenditure on maintaining the unemployed as a necessary concession to the economic power of organized Labour. It would also secure a very much bigger thing—an era of peace which human industry would soon employ for the speedy restoration of national and international prosperity, social as well as economic.

The Nation.

Olla Podrida.

Mr. Narendra Nath Bose, Editor of *Health and Happiness* experimented on himself by trying to live on mangoes alone for a week. He was reduced to extreme weakness and was about to go to the other world. Perhaps that explains the name of the fruit.

* * *

Paris has produced a Blue beard in the person of Landfru. His performances are described in the Madras Mail on 18th June. He has disposed of eleven wives but has been inseparably attached to their properties. His seems to have been a burning love because it appears that he sought the aid of fire to dispose of the unwanted wives.

* * *

Do you want to know about the Bolsheivst religion? Here is a gem found in the Madras Mail on 19th June. Waller preaching a sermon in the Church of Werre said: 'The Lord as Autocrat and Slaveholder keeps the inhabitants of Paradise in the dark but the Devil as instructor and revolutionist opened Eve's eyes and gave in this way all the good ideas to man. God is a despot and autocrat. The Devil was the first revolutionist who has indicated the right way. To you, my comrades, I communicate in the name of the Devil that you may all belong to the Devil; may the spirit of the Devil accompany you and give you strength to maintain the revolution of the workman." After this sermon the holy vessels of the Church were divided among the people present and the whole church robbed. This is civilisation indeed! We do not want it here.

* * *

In the same issue we are told that the Commissioner of Police stated that disregard for life was a feature of after-war crime in England. Is the modern age a very happy and enlightened age after all?

* * *

In Trichinopoly two great events have happened recently. A mahomedan presided over the non-Brahmin conference and applauded the so called non-Brahmin revolt against the Brahmins. This is I suppose, one proof of the so called Hindu-Moslem Entene. The second great event is that a Trichinopolitan has arranged for daily Theosophical classes in his house. Give us this day our daily bread!

* * *

There has been another great sign of the times. One Balasubramania Iyer an M.A. student somewhere found that Christianity satisfied his soul. But his parents wanted him to marry according to Hindu rites. He agreed; on the day of marriage he fled in single blessedness to the house of a Christian Deputy Collector. What was the cause, I wonder?

SCRUTATOR.

Printed and Published by T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B. A. at the Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.

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